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ABSTRACT

Previous research has shown that blacks tend to be concentrated in a narrow range of occupations. While social barriers are recognized as influencing this pattern, constricted patterns of career development also emerge in early exploratory stages prior to career choice. To investigate whether black students' level of vocational identity foreclosure and quality of career exploration attitudes could be predicted from racial identity attitudes, 21 male and 21 female black undergraduates completed a questionnaire which consisted of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale; the Career Appropriateness Questionnaire; the Career Exploration Scale from the Career Development Inventory; and a personal data sheet. Multiple regression analyses indicated that the overall racial identity attitude model was not a significant predictor of vocational identity foreclosure or career exploration attitudes for the total sample. In further analyses, the regression model was found to be a significant predictor of the level of vocational identity foreclosure for black females. The findings suggest the importance of encouraging career exploration for black college women to guard against premature vocational identity foreclosure. (A review of the literature on black career development and black identity is included in an appendix.) (Author/JAC)

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# Relationship Between Black Students' Racial Identity Attitudes and Vocational Exploration

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## Abstract

This study investigated whether Black students' level of vocational identity foreclosure and quality of career exploration attitudes could be predicted from racial identity attitudes. Subjects were 21 male and 21 female Black undergraduates attending a large, predominately white, suburban, state university. Each subject completed a questionnaire which consisted of the a) Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Parham & Helms, 1981), b) Career Appropriateness Questionnaire (Ohlde & O'Neil, 1978), c) Career Exploration Scale from the Career Development Inventory (Thompson, Lindeman, Super, Jordaan, & Myers, 1981) and a d) personal data sheet.

Multiple regression analyses indicated that the overall racial identity attitude model was not a significant predictor of vocational identity foreclosure or career exploration attitudes for the total sample. In further analyses, the regression model was found to be a significant predictor of level of vocational identity foreclosure for Black females ($p < .01$)

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During the past decade, increasing attention has been given to special population groups by researchers, academicians, and practitioners in the field of counseling psychology. Yet in terms of research pertaining to the career development of Black individuals, the existing body of literature has been criticized as both limited and riddled with conflicting research findings (Campbell, 1975; Dillard & Perrin, 1980; Osipow, 1973; Smith, 1975).

However, amidst the dearth and confusion, strikingly clear is that Blacks tend to be concentrated in a narrow range of occupations (Ellerbe, 1975; Gottfredson, 1978; Ruiz & Padilla, 1979; Smith, 1980). While societal barriers such as employment discrimination and inadequate education are recognized as having influenced the underrepresentation of Blacks in a broad spectrum of careers, research has shown that constricted patterns of career development emerge in early exploratory stages prior to career choice. Hauser's (1971) research on male youths' vocational identity, that is, an individual's self image in terms of career potentials and possibilities, indicated that Blacks in comparison to Whites evidenced a firm closing out of possible careers. Further research on Black and White college students' career interests (Doughtie, Chang, Alston, Wakefield, & Yom, 1976; Hager & Elton, 1971; Kimball, Sedlacek, & Brooks, 1973) showed Black students' interests comparatively concentrated in social service type occupations. Conjectures have been made as to the contributing factors for the aforementioned findings, but overall, empirical evidence is lacking. Thus, further investigation of career exploration patterns among Blacks appears necessary if we are to understand the early narrowing of career choice considerations.

One major limitation in the completed vocational research on Blacks (see attached literature review- Appendix A) has been the lack of attention given to within group differences (Campbell, 1975). Investigation of such differences can lead to an increased understanding of how Black individuals make career decisions. Outside the field of vocational psychology, racial identity has emerged as a fruitful variable in exploring Black intragroup differences in attitudes and behaviors. As stated in Parham and Helms (1981, p. 251), "racial identity refers to a person's beliefs or attitudes about his or her own race".

Specifically interested in the process of the development of a Black identity, Cross (1971) constructed a theoretical model of four stages; Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization, to describe the Black person's conversion of attitudes from derogation of Blackness to acceptance and esteemed identification with other Blacks.

Early empirical studies have been conducted to establish the validity of Cross's theoretical model of racial identity transformation (Hall, Cross, & Freedle, 1972; Krate, Leventhal, & Silverman, 1974; Williams, 1975). More recently, utilizing Cross's four racial identity stages and the attitudes associated with each stage, Parham and Helms (1981) investigated the relationship between Black college students' racial identity attitudes and preference for counselor race. In general, results of the study indicated that possession of certain racial identity attitudes influence Black individuals' acceptance of Black and White counselors. Results further suggested that as the Black person becomes more comfortable with his or her own racial identity, race of the counselor per se becomes a less crucial variable. Subsequently, the research of Parham and Helms (1984) and Helms and Parham (1984) has

indicated that among Black college students, racial identity attitudes are predictive of certain affective states, self actualizing tendencies, and decision making styles.

Overall, research on Black racial identity development patterns provides evidence that there is a particular pattern of identity development common in the experience of Blacks, particularly Black college students. Moreover, empirical studies suggest that correlated with racial identity transformation stages are distinct attitudes, world-views, and affective states. Thus, given the salience of racial identity as an influencing factor in the cognitive state of a Black individual and as an intragroup research variable, the Cross stages of racial identity might well be applied as a way of developing more definitive understandings of the constricted career exploration patterns of Blacks indicated in empirical studies.

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between racial identity attitude and 1) vocational identity foreclosure (i.e. the elimination of career possibilities by an individual from his or her self image) and 2) career exploration attitudes. The major research questions to be addressed are "can respondents' level of 1) vocational identity foreclosure and 2) quality of exploratory attitudes be predicted from racial identity attitudes?"

## Method

### Subjects

Subjects utilized in the study were 42 (21 female, 21 male) Black undergraduate students attending a large, predominantly White, suburban state university. Subjects were solicited from psychology

classes and from the psychology subject pool and received extra credit points for their voluntary participation. Subjects' ages ranged from 17 to 29 with the average age being 19.5 years. Within the sample, class level was as follows: freshman (n=20), sophomore (n=10), junior (n=7), and senior (n=5). Self reported socioeconomic status for the subjects ranged from working class to upper middle class, with 52.4% of the sample indicating they were middle class.

Instruments

The instruments used in this study were the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Parham & Helms, 1981), Career Appropriateness Questionnaire (Ohlde & O'Neil, 1978), Career Exploration Scale from the Career Development Inventory (Thompson, Lindeman, Super, Jordaan, & Myers, 1981) and a personal data sheet.

Racial Identity Attitude Scale. The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Parham & Helms, 1981) consists of 30 items measuring attitudes associated with the four stages of Black identity development: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization as described by Cross (1971). According to Parham and Helms (1981), the scale was adapted from Q sort items from Hall, Cross, & Freedle (1972). Subjects were asked to respond to items using a five point Likert type scale to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with each statement (e. g. "I believe being Black is a positive experience."). Parham and Helms (1984) have reported internal consistency coefficients for the four scales in the factor derived modification of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale used in this study as: Pre-encounter = .69, Encounter = .50, Immersion-Emersion = .67, and Internalization = .79. The data from the Parham and Helms' (1981)

study in which results indicated that Black students' preference for White or Black counselors logically fit the racial identity model has been cited (Parham & Helms, 1984) as evidence of construct validity.

Career Appropriateness Questionnaire (CAQ). The CAQ (Ohlde & O'Neil, 1978) measures respondents' perceptions of the appropriateness of 84 careers listed in the Self Directed Search (Holland, 1977). Each subject was asked to indicated the degree to which each career was appropriate for him or herself using a four point Likert type scale. To this author's knowledge, an instrument specifically designed to measure vocational identity foreclosure has not been developed. The career literature repeatedly asserts that an openess to a variety of careers is positive in the early career developmental stages. Therefore, a lower score on the CAQ, indicating little consideration of many occupations provides a logical measure of vocational identity foreclosure. As in Holland's (1977) Self Directed Search, the careers in the CAQ have been organized in the following six categories: Realistic, Investigative, Artistic, Social, Enterprising, and Conventional. Hoyt (1941) reliability coefficients for the six scales of the CAQ have been reported at .87 to .95. Reported test-retest reliabilities over a four week period for the scales ranged from .83 to .95 (O'Neil, Ohlde, Barke, Gelwick, & Garfield, 1980).

Career Exploration Scale - Career Development Inventory (College and University Form). The Career Exploration Scale from the Career Development Inventory (Thompson, et al, 1982) is a 20 item scale designed to measure the quality of exploratory attitudes in career information seeking. Students were asked in the first 10 items to rate friends, school personnel, professionals, printed materials, and the media as sources of career

exploration by indicating on a four point scale whether or not they would utilize these various sources for help in career planning. The last 10 items, also using a four point scale, solicit ratings of the usefulness of the information received from the sources previously listed. Each source of information is assigned a weight according to the judged quality of the resource with subjects' score consisting of response value times the item weight. The Career Exploration Scale has a reported reliability estimate of .78 (Cronbach alpha coefficient). Evidence of the construct validity of the Career Exploration Scale has been indicated based on subgroup year differences (Thompson et al., 1982). Among college students, freshmen would be expected to exhibit the greatest concern for career exploration, with activity in this area decreasing as students' career goals and educational plans are developed and crystallized in later college years. Prior research has indicated a trend of decreasing mean scores with increased college level which is consistent with theoretical expectations.

Personal Data Sheet. Subjects were asked to indicate their age, sex, socioeconomic status (i.e. lower, working, middle, upper middle, or upper class), class level (i.e. freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior) and major.

Procedure

Students were tested by the primary investigator in small groups consisting of no more than 10 people depending on the number of volunteer subjects available for each testing. The instruments were presented to subjects in the form of a four part questionnaire. The order of presentation of the personal data sheet, Career Exploration Scale, Career Appropriateness Questionnaire, and Racial Identity Attitude Scale used

all permutations of orders. After completion of the questionnaire, the students were given the opportunity to read a one paragraph description of the purpose of the study. Students were informed that the research involved an examination of career and social attitudes.

## Results

Research Question 1: Can Black students' level of vocational identity foreclosure be predicted from racial identity attitudes? To explore the relationship between vocational identity foreclosure and racial identity attitudes, a multiple regression analysis was performed. Predictors in the regression equation were subjects' mean scores on the four attitude scales (i.e. Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization); the dependent variable, level of vocational identity foreclosure, was measured by subjects' total scores on the CAQ.

The multiple regression analysis indicated that the combination of the four racial identity attitudes was not a significant predictor of level of vocational identity foreclosure ($R = .17$; $F(4,37) = 1.96$, $p = .11$). However, although the standard multiple regression model was not predictive overall, examination of the beta weights indicated two of the individual racial identity attitude variables were significantly related to the dependent variable as presented in Table 1. Pre-encounter attitudes were

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Insert Table 1 about here

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negatively related to the vocational identity foreclosure score indicating that high Pre-encounter attitudes reflected greater vocational identity foreclosure (beta = -.34; $T = -1.97$; $p = .05$). Internalization attitudes were also negatively related to the vocational identity foreclosure score

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS USING
RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES TO PREDICT VOCATIONAL FORECLOSURE (CAQ)

| Variables | Total sample (N=42) | | Females (N=21) | | Males (N=21) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B | Beta | B | Beta | B | Beta |
| Pre-encounter | -26.57 | -.34* | -44.03 | -.49* | .07 | .001 |
| Encounter | 14.95 | .24 | -1.78 | -.02 | 27.36 | .58 |
| Immersion/ Emersion | 9.62 | .12 | 8.30 | .09 | -6.71 | -.10 |
| Internalization | -52.78 | -.59* | -79.25 | -.77** | -13.93 | -.19 |

*p < .05 **p < .01

which suggested that high Internalization attitudes are predictive of greater vocational identity foreclosure (beta = -.59; T = -2.64; p = .01).

Research Question 2: Is there a relationship between quality of career exploration attitudes and racial identity attitudes? A multiple regression analysis was conducted to investigate the relationship between career exploration attitudes as measured by the Career Exploration Scale total score and the predictor variables, the Racial Identity Attitude Scale mean scores.

Results of the multiple regression analysis indicated that the combination of the four racial identity attitudes was not a significant predictor of quality of career exploration attitudes ($R = .03$; $F(4,37 = .35$, $p = .83$). Examination of the beta weights showed no significant relationships between any of the individual racial identity attitudes and the dependent variable as shown in Table 2.

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Insert Table 2 about here

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Secondary Analysis

To further examine the results, Pearson r correlations were conducted between the dependent measures and the variables of sex, class level, socioeconomic status, and age in order to investigate demographic effects. A significant and positive correlation was found between scores on the CAQ and sex ($r = .25$, $p = .05$) which suggested that females in comparison to males show more vocational identity foreclosure. Career Exploration Scale scores (CE) were found to be significantly and negatively related to age ($r = -.26$, $p = .04$) indicating students' attitude toward career exploration decreased in quality with increased age.

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS USING
RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES TO PREDICT CAREER EXPLORATION ATTITUDE (CE)

| Variables | Total sample (N=42) | | Ages 17 and 18 (N=20) | | Ages 19 and older (N=22) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B | Beta | B | Beta | B | Beta |
| Pre-encounter | 4.73 | .09 | -26.73 | -.49 | 14.16 | .29 |
| Encounter | -2.32 | -.05 | -26.07 | -.70 | 10.69 | .23 |
| Immersion/ Emersion | -9.32 | -.18 | 44.54 | .87* | -24.00 | -.46 |
| Internalization | 6.67 | .11 | - 7.14 | -.10 | 2.85 | .05 |

*p < .05

Subsequent to finding the significant correlation between the vocational identity foreclosure variable (CAQ) and sex, two multiple regression analyses were performed to examine whether racial identity attitudes were predictive of level of vocational identity foreclosure for males and females analyzed separately. Results indicated that the regression model of the four racial identity attitudes was a significant predictor of the level of vocational identity foreclosure for females ($R = .58$; $F(4,16) = 5.74$; $p = .004$). Examination of the corresponding beta weights indicated two of the individual racial identity attitude variables were significantly related to the dependent variable (See Table 1). Pre-encounter and vocational identity foreclosure scores were negatively related which suggests that high Pre-encounter attitudes for females are associated with greater vocational identity foreclosure (beta = -.49, $T = -2.84$, $p = .01$). Internalization attitudes and the vocational identity foreclosure score was also negatively related indicating high Internalization attitudes to be predictive of greater vocational identity foreclosure for females (beta = -.77; $T = -3.91$; $p = .001$). The combination of the four racial identity attitudes was not a significant predictor of the dependent variable for males ($R = .15$; $F(4,16) = .719$, $p = .59$). Furthermore, no individual racial identity attitudes were found to be significantly related to the measure of vocational identity foreclosure for males (See Table 1).

Two multiple analyses were also conducted following the finding of the significant negative correlation between the career exploration attitudes measure (CE) and age to examine whether racial identity attitudes were predictive of quality of career exploration attitudes for two age groups (Group 1 = ages 17 and 18, Group 2 = ages 19 and older). Results indicated that the combination of the four racial identity attitudes was

not a significant predictor of quality of career exploration attitudes for Group 1 ($R = .33$; $F(4,15) = 1.88$; $p = .16$). Examination of the individual beta weights (See Table 2) indicated one racial identity attitude Immersion Emersion, was significantly and positively related to CE scores for Group 1 (beta = .87; $T = 2.28$; $p = .03$). This suggested that high Immersion-Emersion attitudes are predictive of higher quality attitudes of career exploration for 17 and 18 year old Black college students. Findings also indicated that the overall racial identity model was not a significant predictor of the dependent variable (CE) for Group 2 ($R = .22$; $F(4,17) = 1.24$; $p = .32$). Furthermore, no individual racial identity attitude was found to be significantly related to the measure of career exploration attitudes for Group 2 (See Table 2).

## Discussion

The basic reason for the present study was that the existing body of literature on the career development of Black individuals has been criticized as being limited in scope and riddled with conflicting research findings. A possible contributing factor to this problem has been the lack of attention given to within group differences among Blacks. Recent empirical investigations have indicated that racial identity attitudes based on Cross's model (1971) of Black identity development provide a mechanism for understanding the impact of intragroup differences among Blacks. Patterns of racial identity attitudes have been found to be associated with Black individuals' counselor preference, self actualizing tendencies, certain affective states, and decision making style. Given that racial identity attitudes appear to have predictive utility, this study investigated whether career exploration patterns could be predicted from racial identity attitudes.

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate whether racial identity attitudes derived from Cross's model (1971) were related to Black college students' 1) level of vocational identity foreclosure and 2) career exploration attitudes. Secondary analyses explored a) sex differences in the relationship between racial identity attitudes and vocational identity foreclosure and b) age differences in the relationship between racial identity attitudes and career exploration attitudes. Results for the total sample did not give support to the major research questions. However, secondary analysis exploring sex differences provided some support for the model.

Vocational Identity Foreclosure

The first research question was whether Black students' level of vocational identity foreclosure could be predicted from racial identity attitudes. The overall racial identity attitude model was a significant predictor of level of vocational identity foreclosure only for Black females. Pre-encounter and Internalization attitudes were negatively related to the vocational identity score indicating that high Pre-encounter and Internalization scores reflect greater vocational identity foreclosure. These findings suggest several possible implications.

The finding that the combination of the racial identity attitudes was a significant predictor of level of vocational identity foreclosure for Black females but not for Black males suggests that factors related to sex influence this variable. Smith (1981) has asserted that the psychosocial factors affecting the career development of Black females may be quite different than those of either Black males, White males, or White females. Thus, the finding of vocational identity foreclosure among Black college females in this study is consistent with other research findings

(cited in Smith, 1981) which suggest Black females have low occupational awareness, may feel pressured to make a career commitment that does not interfere with household and family responsibility, and furthermore, may be influenced to perceive the opportunity structure more narrowly. The aforementioned has been related to the paucity of Black female role models in non-traditional careers, a relatively high rate of early pregnancy among Black females, and the interaction of racism and sexism. The results of this study, however, did not provide evidence to support Hauser's (1971) previous research conclusion that Black males evidence a rigid closing out of careers.

The obtained significant relationships for Black females between the dependent variable, vocational identity foreclosure, and racial identity attitudes also appears consistent with Cross's (1971) theoretical model. The theory suggests that, comparatively, among the four stages of Black identity development, Pre-encounter and Internalization are stages of more stable and consolidated identity, whereas Encounter and Immersion-Emersion are stages of self questioning and self discovery. One might therefore expect, then, that vocational identity foreclosure which involves a more crystallized vocational self image would be found to be related to racial identity stages of relatively little identity transiency. However, both Cross's theory (1971) and empirical evidence on racial identity attitudes also point out that among the racial identity stages there are distinct contextual aspects. For these results, it is particularly important to reiterate the distinctions between Pre-encounter and Internalization.

Theoretically, while a firmness of racial identity has been postulated as part of both the Pre-encounter and Internalization stages, Pre-encounter

has been hypothesized in the model as a pro-White/anti-Black orientation which Cross (1971) described as the stage least mentally healthy for the Black person. In contrast, Internalization signaled resolution of conflicts about race and was described as a stage in which inner security with one's Blackness and a calm emotional demeanor were characteristic. Empirical findings validate and highlight such contextual differences. For example, in investigating the relationship between racial identity attitudes and decision making styles using Harren's (1979) Assessment of Career Decision-making scale, Helms and Parham (1984) found only Internalization attitudes were positively related to a rational style of decision making. Parham and Helms (1984) also found in investigating the relationship of racial identity attitudes to self actualization and affective states that Pre-encounter attitudes, unlike Internalization attitudes, were related to lower levels of self actualizing tendencies as well as to feelings of inferiority, hypersensitivity, anxiety, and lack of self acceptance. These results suggest, for the particular findings of this study, that vocational identity foreclosure occurs within both negative and positive intrapersonal contexts. Or in other words, as measured in this study, vocational identity foreclosure, that is "the elimination of career possibilities", may take on a positive or negative meaning dependent upon the context from which the elimination of career possibilities occurs. In the positive context (associated with Internalization attitudes), it is conjectured that an appropriate cystallization of occupational identity is occuring as it takes place within a context in which both self and society have been explored, values have been clarified, self confidence appears evident, and decision making is realistic. In

the negative context (associated with Pre-encounter attitude), it is conjectured that the elimination of careers takes place within a context of negative self perception and perceived limited opportunities.

However, whether the conjectures put forth about the construct of vocational identity foreclosure are accurate are not answerable from the results of this study. The manner in which vocational identity foreclosure is operationalized, through the use of the Career Appropriateness Questionnaire, did not provide a way to assess the degree of self and occupational exploration and awareness as well as the level of self efficacy that preceded the elimination of potential careers. Consequently, new scale development which includes assessment of the aforementioned is recommended for future studies of vocational identity foreclosure.

From these findings, the generalizability of the Cross (1971) model might also be called into question. Cross (1971, 1978) suggested that the identity development model provided a description of a process of self actualization for Blacks under conditions of oppression. One might hypothesize, based on the outcome of this study, that among the Blacks sampled, only the females experienced a level of oppression (at least vocationally) equivalent to that of Black people in the late 1960s and early 1970s on whom the theoretical model was based. This conjecture indicates a need for further exploration of sex differences in the racial identity attitude model.

Career Exploration Attitudes

The second research question addressed in this study attempted to determine whether the quality of vocational exploration attitudes could be predicted from racial identity attitudes. Since the combination of racial identity attitudes revealed no significant relationship to the

career exploration variable, this research question is not supported for the total sample.

However, in the secondary analysis, one racial identity attitude, Immersion-Emersion, was significantly and positively related to career exploration scores for 17 and 18 year old Black college students. From this finding, the implication is that entering Black college students with higher levels of Immersion-Emersion attitudes were more likely to have positive attitudes toward utilizing career resources. While no prior studies have investigated the relationship between attitudes toward career exploration and racial identity attitudes, this particular finding appears contrary to Cross's theory (1971) that the Immersion-Emersion stage is a period of withdrawal into self and with empirical data that Immersion-Emersion attitudes are negatively related to affiliative decision making and self actualization (Helms & Parham, 1984; Parham & Helms, 1984). Clearly, if the results of this study are not an anomoly, there are, in the vocational domain, some attitudes inconsistent with those specified in the Cross model (1971).

Limitations to the Generalizability of the Results

With the exception of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Parham & Helms, 1981), the other scales used in this study have not been specifically validated for a Black sample. Thus, whether the CAQ and CE scales provided valid assessment of the dependent variables can be debated. Further research concerning the psychometric properties of the CAQ and CE scales when used with Blacks is needed.

It is also acknowledged that although the number of subjects utilized exceeded a suggested minimum requirement for use of multiple regression

(Tabachnick & Fidael, 1983), more generally speaking, the sample size was small. Furthermore, it should be taken into account that all subjects obtained were from a single, predominantly White university, thus, further restricting the generalizability of the findings. It is suggested that if difficulty in obtaining Black subjects is not prohibitive, future studies in this area should incorporate larger samples of Black subjects with more extensive demographic variation. However, even replication of the same scale but conducted multiply would enhance the generalizability, and therefore, the utility of the findings.

Intervention Implications

Findings overall indicated intervention implications for Black females. In counseling Black female college students, it appears especially important to encourage career exploration to guard against premature vocational identity foreclosure. One way career exploration might be facilitated in counseling is to provide validation for delayed career choice(e.g. declaring "Undecided" as major as a freshman). As previously pointed out, Black females may feel many pressures to make a career choice commitment. For some, early decision making such as in high school or freshman years may be beneficial and necessary. But for others, it is possible that an early career decision limits the scope of career possibilites considered. It is contended that often college provides exposure to new career possibilities. With deferred decision making supported by the counselor, an environment is available where pressures are diffused and therefore, an openess to explore can be facilitated.

Additionally, vocational identity foreclosure results suggested that encouragement of career exploration as a continual process is particularly relevant for Black females. In this way, as the changes in racial identity

occur, development in vocational identity is in accordance with the evolved sense of self.

Conclusion

From this research, it is this author's contention that further study of racial identity attitudes and vocational identity foreclosure is warranted. Suggested specific research directions are two-fold. First, the implications from this study suggesting that the construct of vocational identity foreclosure has both positive and negative aspects provides an interesting research area. Empirical evidence to further delineate distinct factors associated with the positive and negative aspects would be fruitful in both developing the theoretical construct of vocational identity foreclosure and for career counseling interventions. Secondly, more research is suggested to investigate the postulation the racial identity model's predictiveness of vocational identity foreclosure is associated with persons who experience conditions of oppression. Future studies utilizing particularly women and persons from lower economic class backgrounds could provide information as to the role oppression exerts on the racial identity model's relationship with vocational identity foreclosure, thus providing important empirical evidence for greater understanding of the saliency and generalizability of the racial identity model.

# APPENDIX A

## Literature Review

The review of the literature is divided into two major sections: 1) research on the vocational behavior and career development of Blacks, and 2) studies in the area of Black identity development.

Before 1970, career research including Blacks focused mainly upon differences from White populations (Picou & Campbell, 1975). Campbell, (1975) in a comprehensive book on the career behavior of minority populations cited many problems in the research on Blacks: absence of intragroup research, negative stereotypes, lack of longitudinal data, and deficient program evaluation studies. Similarly, Osipow (1973, 1975) criticized the lack of consistency between variables including race, social class, ethnicity, and educational level, the presence of numerous conflicting research results, and questioned the assumptions and conceptual base of the major career theories for groups other than White males.

June and Pringle (1977) more specifically analyzed the concept of race in the career development theories of Roe, Super, and Holland by presenting and critiquing the theorists' written statements on race and Blacks. The authors' general conclusion was that though the work of Roe, Super, and Holland indicated some awareness of race as a factor in career development, the influence of race was not incorporated into the theories in any significant manner. As the review methodology of June and Pringle lacked an experimental base, the strength of their assertions is questionable. Still, the article provided data indicative of the low degree of consideration that had been given to the career development of Blacks at the time of their writing.

At present, there is still much criticism about the paucity and narrowness of research on the career development of the Black individual (Dillard & Perrin, 1980; Smith, 1981). However, the past fourteen years of research shows a shift toward finer specification and broader consideration of research

variables; that is, an increasing emphasis on investigating intra-group differences in order to understand the variation among Blacks.

Directly related to the present study is the observation that despite the consistency throughout the vocational literature of the premise that a period of exploration is fundamental to an individual's career development, no studies were found which focused specifically on career exploration attitudes of Blacks. However, two studies were found in the literature which provide some indication about Black individuals' attitudes regarding use of resources for career exploration. Pallone, Ruckard, and Hurley (1970), with a group of Black and White high school students from working class backgrounds, measured the frequency with which each of nine key figures was rated in terms of influencing career preference. For Black females, mother was the most powerful influencer of career preference followed by persons in the preferred occupation. Black males ranked persons in the preferred occupation as number one, with a tie between mother and father rated as the second most influential. Counselors were ranked seventh and eighth by Black males and females, respectively, in terms of position of influence.

June and Fooks (1980), in a more recent study, examined the key influencers on the career directions and choices of a sample of Black university professionals. Overall, results from their survey supported the earlier findings (Pallone et al., 1970) on influencers of career preference. In this study, key influencers indicated were persons in the job and parents, particularly mother. School counselor tied with neighbor for the last position. The data further revealed the Black professionals were predominantly influenced by Blacks.

Another focus in the present study is vocational identity foreclosure which is defined as the elimination of career possibilities by an individual from his or her self image. Hauser's (1971) research on identity formation

provides the only study on vocational identity foreclosure with Blacks. With Erickson's conceptual model of identity formation as a base, Hauser examined the career development of 14 to 16 year old lower socioeconomic Black and White male adolescents using personal interviews and data from Q sorts. The Q sort findings for Black males indicated little structural integration of their self images as well as static structural integration over a four year period. Similiarly, contents of the taped interviews suggested relatively fixed self images. In contrast, the White adolescents showed progressive structural integration and greater flexibility in their self images. In terms of vocational identity, Hauser reported a significantly higher degree of foreclosure for the Blacks. With the Black adolescents, consideration of any fantasy self was quite restricted and the relationship between fantasy self and present self, in general, showed a consistently higher correlation than with the White adolescents. Overall, according to Hauser, the Black males evidenced a firm closing out of career possibilities which he concluded was based on their fixed sense of self and direction.

Consonant with the research on vocational identity foreclosure, fairly extensive investigation of the types of occupations minority individuals have chosen (Ellerbe, 1975; Gottfredson, 1978; Ruiz & Padilla, 1979; Smith, 1980) shows a constricted pattern of career choices among Blacks. Two trends appear quite evident in this literature; first, a disproportionately large number of Black Americans have been reported to be in blue collar low skill occupations; and secondly, for those with college backgrounds, the employment setting has been predominantly in the area of social service.

In examining career development patterns of Blacks from a related aspect, research on vocational interests indicate Black college students' interests tend to be concentrated in social service type occupations. Hager and Elton

(1971), using the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (Campbell, 1969), found that Black freshmen males differed significantly form White males in a bi-polar interest in social service versus interest in the physical sciences, respectively. Kimball, Sedlacek, and Brooks (1973) using Holland's Self Directed Search (1971) reported the largest difference in their sample of Black and White freshmen was a greater number of first choice Social summary codes for Blacks, compared to more Realistic and Investigative first choices for Whites. Doughtie, Chang, Alston, Wakefield, and Yom (1976) examined the differences between Black and White undergraduates in the Vocational Preference Inventory (Holland, 1970). Their results supported the earlier findings that Blacks choose Social type occupations more than Whites. However, their study failed to confirm the observation of Kimball et al. (1973) that Whites choose Realistic and Investigative occupations more often than Blacks.

Some other relevant research comes from studies on career maturity. The concept of career maturity introduced by Super (1955) incorporates a developmental view of career maturation which proceeds along five dimensions: 1) Orientation to Vocational Choice, 2) Information and Planning, 3) Consistency of Vocational Choice, 4) Crystallization of Traits, and 5) Wisdom of Vocational Preferences. Super, Crites, Hummel, Moser, Overstreet, and Warnath explained career maturity (cited in Crites, 1978) as a person's standing along the aforementioned career maturity dimensions in relation to either chronological age and expected life stage or the behavior of other individuals confronting the same developmental task. Orientation to vocational choice is perhaps the closest dimension of career maturity related to career exploration. In the career maturity research on Black individuals, a host of variables has been examined. For the most part, consistently indicated in comparative empirical studies is that Blacks tend to obtain lower career maturity scores than Whites (Maynard & Hansen, 1970; Lawrence & Brown, 1976; Dillard & Perrin, 1980).

Why this is so has not been conclusively demonstrated. However, there are indications from available research that for Blacks an association with middle class status in either perspective or socioeconomic background correlates with an increase in career maturity scores.

Dillard (1976) examined the relationship of career maturity to both reading achievement and the socioeconomic status with Black sixth grade males. The attitude scale of the Career Maturity Inventory (Crites, 1973) was used to assess career maturity and reading acheivement was based on scores from standardized reading tests. The sample group was divided into three socioeconomic groups. Significant differences were found between the three groups. Suburban middle socioeconomic males were the highest in career maturity, followed by middle class urban males, followed by urban lower socioeconomic males. In terms of career maturity and reading achievement for the three groups, results revealed low but significant and positive correlations. After eliminating the variability accounted for by the mediating variable, reading acievement, differences in career maturity among the three groups remained significant.

Smith (1976) examined the relationship between reference group perspective and career maturity using the Career Maturity Inventory (Crites, 1971) with lower socioeconomic Black high school seniors. She hypothesized an individual's identification to specific class groups would differentiate career maturity levels as opposed to socioeconomic staus being the influencing factor. Findings supported her contention as lower socioeconomic Black students who evidenced an orientation toward middle class reference group perspective obtained higher vocational maturity scores than lower socioeconomic Black students whose views were assessed as associated with a lower class perspective. No significant sex differences

were found. Based on the correlation between career maturity and reference group perspective, Smith concluded that the Career Maturity Inventory was measuring middle class values. She further asserted lower socioeconomic Black youths should not be treated as a homogeneous group as vocational maturity appeared to vary with reference group perspective.

Dillard and Perrin (1980) investigated the extent to which socioeconomic status, grade level, family intactness, and ethnic membership (race) accounted for the variations in career maturity in Puerto Rican, Black and Anglo adolescents. Using the Attitude Scale of the Career Maturity Inventory (Crites, 1973), the results indicated that career maturity was related to ethnic group membership, socioeconomic background, and grade level. The research findings on ethnic group membership suggested that Anglo adolescents demonstrated higher career maturity scores than Black adolescents. However, also evident was a trend of increased career maturity with increased socioeconomic status. Based on their findings, these investigators concluded that the differences in career maturity were more related to socioeconomic background than to ethnic group membership.

Overall, empirical studies concerning the career development of Blacks is lacking, particularly in the area of the exploratory career development stages. Furthermore, as highlighted by the career maturity studies, intragroup investigations appear paramount in order to better understand the career development of Blacks and provide more complete explanations for existing research results.

Until the 1970's, the psychological literature on Blacks generally depicted the Black American as having low self esteem, low achievement motivation, confused self-identity, and a variety of other negative and/or pathological characteristics (Jones, 1972). Much criticism has been

directed to these studies. Hilliard (1972) pointed out many of the research problems, including failure to control confounding variables such as education and social class, use of personality tests with Blacks which had been standardized on Whites, and an overemphasis on comparative studies between Black and White populations. Confronting these problems, Black psychologists, in particular, have initiated research to explain Black behavior by focusing upon intragroup research and acknowledging the psycho-historical and social forces influencing Black people.

One area of such research has as its focus the development of racial identity. Interested in the process of the development of a Black identity, Cross (1971) has constructed a theoretical model of four stages: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization, to describe the Black person's conversion of attitudes from derogation of Blackness to acceptance of the racial group and esteemed identification with other Blacks.

Characterizing the Pre-encounter stage is a worldview dominated by a Euro-American framework whereby the individual is dependent upon White society for self definition and all aspects of being Black are devalued. The Encounter stage is marked by a questioning of the previous frame of reference as a result of a startling personal or social event, subsequently, initiating an openess to reinterpretation of racial identity and world-view. In this process of reinterpretation, the individual begins an intense search for a Black identity to validate the new perceptions. The third stage, Immersion-Emersion encompasses a period in which Black culture is glorified while White culture is derogated by the individual. As the individual emerses from his or her immersion into "Blackness" to the

Internalization stage, prior defensiveness of the reactionary third stage gives way to psychological openess and inner security with one's Black identity. A decline in global anti-White feelings takes place and movement is toward a pluralistic perspective.

Thomas (1971) also delineated stages describing the transformation process of racial identity with Black individuals. Central to Thomas's model is the concept of Negromachy, defined as a Black individual's psychological state which is ruled by confusion and dependency upon White society for definition (Thomas, 1971). According to Thomas, in overcoming Negromachy and developing a positive Black identity, a Black individual moves through five distinct stages: Withdrawal, Testifying, Information Processing, Activity, and Transcendental. In his model, the first four stages encompass a withdrawal into Blackness and the last stage is characterized by an emergence of an internalized Black frame of reference and a sense of unity with humanity.

Parallels between Cross's (1971) model and Thomas's work have been pointed out (Cross, 1978). Both researchers propose theoretical frameworks to describe a series of stages Black individuals traverse in seeking a positive identification with their Blackness. Fundamental to both is also an emphasis on the importance of the subjective worldview of the Black person. However, despite the similarities, differences in the models exist with the Cross model cited as a more comprehensive framework of Black identity development (Cross, 1978). More significantly, though Thomas's work is considered noteworthy, empirical evidence to validate the model is lacking.

Studies have been conducted which support the validity of Cross's hypothesized stages. Hall, Cross, and Freedle (1972) utilized a Q sort

procedure to test the existence of the stages hypothesized by Cross. Twenty eight single sentence items developed by Cross, representing the different beliefs and behaviors of the Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization stages were presented to subjects. Using Black and White college students, each subject was randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions which differed by the amount of freedom an individual was allowed in sorting the items. Under all conditions, subjects sorted the items in a sequence that replicated the four stage progression as described by Cross, thus, overall results indicated support for the Cross model.

Krate, Leventhal, and Silverman (1974) also conducted a study which attempted to validate the stage wise progression of the Cross model. Citing that a major shortcoming of the Hall, Cross and Freedle (1972) study was that it used atypical Black students because they came from a highly selective university, these investigators utilized urban low income Black students from a state college as subjects. In this study, individuals were asked to rate personal statements adapted from Cross's (1971) Q sort items in accordance with how they: (a) retrospectively viewed themselves (b) presently view themselves, and (c) projectively view themselves. The results indicated that subjects demonstrated a clear self perception of a transition away from being in the Pre-encounter stage in the past to viewing themselves as being in the Internalization stage in the present and in the future. Based on the results, Krate et al concluded the subjects' self perception change was congruent with the Black identity development model described by Cross.

Williams (1975) attempted to determine whether distinctive attittudes, values, and beliefs are associated with each stage of the Cross model. Black college students served as subjects. They were evaluated in terms

of stage position from an individual open ended interview based on the stage related descriptive statements utilized in Hall et al (1972). Following an interview, each subject completed a form that incorporated an anti-Black scale, an anti-Whtie scale, the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, the Rosenberg Self Esteem Inventory, and the Gurin version of the Rotter internal-external locus of control scale. The results indicated that Pre-encounter subjects had a strong anti-Black bias as well as the lowest anti-White scores. Persons classified in the Immersion-Emersion stage indicated very pro-Black attitudes, rated being Black as an important part of their lives and reported significantly more anti-White sentiments. Subjects in the Encounter stage were reported as having a more restrained Immersion-Emersion attitude profile and subjects classified in the Internalization stage revealed a positive but not uncritical attitude toward other Blacks and anti-White scores above those in the Pre-encounter stage but below the Immersion-Emersion stage. The overall results provided further support for the developmental pattern described by Cross.

Beyond validation studies, other investigators have conducted research specifically implementing Cross's stage model. Utilizing the four racial identity stages and the attitudes associated with each stage, Parham and Helms (1981) investigated the relationship between Black college students' racial identity attitudes and preference for counselor race. In their study, a counselor preference scale, demographic questionnaire and the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Parham & Helms, 1981) developed from Cross's (1971) Q sort items were administered. Results indicated that Pre-encounter attitudes were significantly related to preferences for White counselors. Encounter attitudes were positively related to preferences for Black

counselors, and the trend for Immersion-Emersion attitudes was also in the direction of preference for Black counselors.

Parham and Helms (1984) also investigated the relationship of Black college students' racial identity attitudes to self actualization and affective states using the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Parham & Helms, 1981), Symptom - 90 Checklist (Derogatis, Rickels, & Rock, 1976), and Personal Orientation Inventory (Shostrom, 1963). Overall findings indicated that Pre-encounter and Immersion attitudes were negatively related to self actualizing tendencies and were positively related to feelings of inferiority, anxiety, and hostility. Additionally, Encounter attitudes were indicated as being positively related to self actualizing tendencies and negatively related to feelings of inferiority and anxiety.

In further research by Helms and Parham (1984), the relationship between racial identity attitudes and decision making style was examined. Utilizing Black college students, Harren's (1979) Assessment of Career Decision-making scale was factor analyzed. Subsequently, using the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Parham & Helms, 1981), the investigators investigated whether racial identity attitudes differentially predicted the decision making styles identified by the factor analysis. Results indicated that a rational style accounted for the largest percentage of the variance in the factor analysis. Furthermore, data from the study indicated that racial identity attitudes were predictive of a rational decision making style.

Two other related studies were found in the literature which cite the Cross model (1971). Milliones (1974), using the ideas of both Cross and Thomas as a base, developed the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness (DIB-C) to delineate various stages of Black identity development. The results of his construct validation study indicated that as Black

identity progressed, internalized negative stereotypes of the Black self are relinquished. Davidson (1975), in an attempt to provide evidence that Black college students active in Black affairs would score significantly higher on a measure of Black awareness than students who were not active, constructed the Black Group Identification Index (BGII), a 20 item attitude scale. In his results, Davidson reported the items validated for the BGII appear to be closely related to the continuum of stages in the Cross model.

In summary, this review has presented research in the area of career development and racial identity development with Black populations. While changes in career research trends towards intragroup research on Blacks have emerged to provide information beyond the conclusion that Blacks and Whites differ on a variety of career development variables, large gaps still exist in our knowledge about the career development patterns of Blacks. Research on racial identity has provided a vehicle for further understanding of Black individuals' development. The purpose of this study is to investigate the construct of racial identity in a vocational context. Specifically, the relationship between racial identity attitudes and vocational identity foreclosure and career exploration attitudes is explored.

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